Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

FEB. 15, 1959
VOL. 25 NO. 4

PRESIDENT'S "FOOD FOR PEACE" PROPOSAL STIRS HOPE

A proposal that pacifists have been making for years--that America's lus food-producing capacity be used to help under-productive countries--turned unexpectedly in President Eisenhower's "farm message" to Congress on uary 29. The suggestion that "food can be a powerful instrument for all the world in building a durable peace" wound up a highly controversial recommdation that the existing farm price support system be radically revised.

"I am setting steps in motion to ore anew with other surplus-ucing nations all practical means utilizing the various agricultural luses of each in the interest of forcing peace and the well-being friendly peoples throughout the d--in short, using food for peace," President said.

Pacifists and others have argued years that both the storage of vast ntities of surplus food and the ing back of food production are oral in a world in which constant ger is a fact of life for half the nlation. In 1954, after reports of a strous flood on the Yangtze River, FOR sponsored a "food-for-China" that won wide support throughout country and flooded the White se with mail. The campaign's re-nse was said to have been discussed abinet meetings, and to have been ctor in counteracting strong pres-s for military action against China he Quemoy-Matsu area.

American surpluses, according to President's figures, are half again large now as they were in 1954. July 1 the government's total in-ment in farm commodities will be 00,000,000. "We already hold such stocks of wheat," the President , "that if not one bushel of the on-ing crop were harvested we would have more than enough for domestic export sales, foreign donation and ded carry-over for an entire year."

While the reference to the plan was brief, *The New York Times* reported that it is "much further advanced" than the message would indicate.

Many pacifists hold that in addition to the impact that such sharing of surpluses would have in reducing world have in reducing world tensions, it is only through extensive planning for world aid that the industrialized Western nations can safely make the transition from an arms economy to a peace economy. In such ideas pacifists would, of course, eliminate the "friendly nations" condition in favor of basing the help on human need.

Worth Supporting

The Eisenhower "food-for-peace" plan could peter out into something inconsequential, or it could become a significant start on humanity's most critical need: a method of more equitable distributing the world's food and wealth. This is a move worth supporting, with letters making these points:

Methods of distributing surplus foods should be worked out cooperatively, with full participation by the recipient as well as the donor nations.

The basis of distribution should be need, not political or military "friendliness."

Both the White House and Congress should know that many Americans applaud this kind of approach to peace.

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PEACE INFORMATION EDITION
Box 271, Nyack, New York
ALFRED HASSLER, Editor
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor
FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

Nonviolence Internes Study Nearby Race Attitudes

Twenty participants in the "Internes in Nonviolence" four-day training session held by the FOR at its Nyack headquarters at the end of January, spent one afternoon polling businessmen and residents of nearby communities on their attitudes toward "open" housing.

The pollsters visited six banks, 15 real estate agents, and 87 homes in Nyack and other villages in Rockland County, N.Y. Twenty-eight additional landlords who had advertised apartments to rent were queried by telephone. The results of the poll, which showed a depressing amount of resistance to the idea of permitting Negroes to live in "white" neighborhoods, were mimeographed and distributed to clergymen, newspapers and other agencies in the county.

The "internes," who have committed themselves to emergency service in tense situations, spent an intensive four days of hearing lectures by leading pacifists, surveying available printed and audio-visual materials, and engaging in lengthy discussion groups. Evenings were given to testing, via "sociodrama," nonviolent methods of dealing with conflict. Situations acted out included a Negro traveler refused service in a roadside restaurant and deliberate "projects" to break down segregation in restaurants, railroad stations and similar tension spots.

Participants in the session included eight clergymen and theological students, five other graduate and undergraduate students, three peace workers, a librarian, a horticulturalist, and a conscientious objector on alternative service. Fourteen states were represented, with one trainee coming from as far as California, and two from Mississippi.

National Conference Plans Include Family Camp

Plans for an eight-day FOR get-together at Green Lake, Wisconsin, in August, include a four-day "family camp." The camp, which will focus attention on pacifist insights into family relationships as well as discussions of peace and race issues, will start Saturday evening, August 15, and continue through Wednesday. The conference itself will begin on Wednesday evening and continue through Saturday, August 22.

Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery (Ala.) Improvement Association, have promised to speak. Both are FOR members.

Both the family camp and conference will be held at the Abbey area of the American Baptist Assembly grounds at Green Lake, Wisconsin. Maximum accommodations will be about 220, so that members who wish to attend either or both are urged to send in their reservations early.

National Council, UCYM Oppose Conscription Renewal

In testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, the National Council of Churches pointed to "the danger inherent in an overwhelming emphasis on militarism" in opposing extension of the present UMT draft provisions.

A spokesman of the United Christian Youth Movement testified that the UCYM "is unalterably opposed to the principle of permanent peacetime conscription," and commented on the haste with which hearings on the draft renewal bill were called. The UCYM, an affiliate of the National Council, represents ten million young people in the church

THE FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION

An article by *Fellowship's* manag g editor, William Robert Miller, titled Armageddon Ltd." and published in e May 1958 issue of *Motive,* has been amatized by the Wesley Foundation the University of Oklahoma and apted for radio by a Binghamton OR group. Two other groups have ade reprints of the article, and it has en nominated for inclusion in the iarterly, *Best Articles and Stories.*

* * *

Last October, the Rev. Joseph W. ell was appointed youth director of e Board of Education of the Metho- st Church, which conducts a program nong some two million youngsters. r. Bell is an FOR member.

* * *

Roland E. Wolseley, a member of e FOR Literature Committee, is the uthor of a new book, *Critical Writing r the Journalist,* just off the press. rof. Wolseley is chairman of the maga- ne dept. of Syracuse University.

* * *

André and Magda Trocmé, IFOR raveling Secretaries, will visit the nited States next fall. During the past ear, the Trocmés have witnessed the aullist revolution in France and visi- d Poland and the USSR. André attend- d the Fourth International Conference gainst A- and H-bombs in Tokyo, apan last summer. The Trocmés will ur this country from Oct. 1 to the end January 1960. Speaking engagements ay be arranged through John Nevin ayre, IFOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

* * *

Christians in the Arena by Allan A. unter and *In Every Place a Voice* by alter G. Muelder were among eight ooks listed in a recent issue of *Ecu- enical Courier,* World Council of hurches publication -- not a bad score r FOR members.

* * *

The Lutheran Peace Fellowship, an OR affiliate, reports that its recently blished membership folder, *Not By ght,* has already received wide dis- bution. Lutherans can obtain copies om Secretary-Treasurer William C. Zimmann, 3140 Green Valley Road, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

* * *

Helen Beardsley, long-time FOR member who is also a member of Allan Hunter's church in Los Angeles, recently donated a collection of 104 books to the growing FOR Library at Shadowcliff, which includes many hard-to-find books about pacifism and related subjects. Mrs. Beardsley has also volunteered to serve the FOR for a year without pay, beginning next September. She will be engaged in peace work among women's church groups.

* * *

E. Philip Eastman, General Secretary of the International FOR, with headquarters in London, will arrive in the United States on April 7 for a month-long visit. Mr. Eastman is a native of New Zealand and a Congregational minister who has served as joint secretary of the International Department of the British Council of Churches. For nine years he was secretary of the London office of the World Council of Churches' Commission on International Affairs. In the U. S. he will attend meetings of the International FOR North American Committee in New York, the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship Retreat near Columbus, Ohio, and the meetings of the Church Peace Mission and the FOR National Council in Evanston, Ill. He will be available for a limited number of speaking engagements. Arrangements may be made through John Nevin Sayre, IFOR, Box 241, Nyack, N. Y.

* * *

In Kerala, the Communist-ruled state in India, FOR members have taken the initiative with Sarvodaya leaders in forming a Kerala *Shanti Mandal* or "peace brigade" to meet "the growing atmosphere of violence and tension" there. Among the leaders of the new group are former FOR Secretary K. K. Chandy and K. Kelappan, leader of the *Shanti Sena* ("peace army") inaugurated in 1957 by Vinoba Bhave.

Fosdick, King, Labor Leaders Back Anti-Bias Youth March

"I'm enthusiastic about the cause you represent," said noted FOR member Harry Emerson Fosdick at a meeting of about 80 high school students, labor leaders and other supporters of the Youth March for Integrated Schools, in New York last month.

The meeting was preliminary to a public meeting slated for Feb. 14 at the Community Church, where Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock was scheduled to get a petition campaign under way with a rally of a thousand school children from New York and vicinity. The march itself will be held on May 2, when the petitions will be presented to the President and Congress. On that date, thousands will arrive in Washington, D. C., from communities throughout the nation.

At the January meeting, Co-Chairman A. Philip Randolph read a telegram from AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, agreeing to join the March's sponsoring committee, which already includes FOR members Fosdick and Martin Luther King Jr., and reported AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany's support of the movement. "We expect the labor unions to be very active in the march this time," Randolph said.

Bayard Rustin, Youth March Coordinator, said the movement is aiming at 20,000 participants -- twice the number who marched on Oct. 25, 1958 -- and "hundreds of thousands" of s natures on the petition.

DATES TO REMEMBER

March 6-8. New York AFSC institute Hudson Guild Farms, Andover, N. Write: Joyce Mertz, AFSC, 237 Th Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

March 20-22. AFSC Weekend conferen at Woolman Hill, Mass., on "The Po tics of Pacifism." Write: AFSC, P. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

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April 23-25. National Council meetin of the FOR at Evanston, Ill. Writ Alfred Hassler, FOR, Box 271, Nyac N. Y.

May 2. Youth March for Integrat Schools, Washington, D. C. In New Yo City, phone MO 6-9700, or write B yard Rustin, Youth March for Integrat Schools, 312 West 125th St., New Yo 27, N. Y.

May 5. New York FOR Annual Dinn at Christ Church (Methodist), featuri Rep. Byron Johnson. Write: A. J. Must NYFOR, 1133 Broadway, N. Y. 10, N.

August 5-12. IFOR International Co ference at Schloss Trautenfels, Au tria. Write: John Nevin Sayre, IFO Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

FELLOWSHIP
Box 271, Nyack, New York

Entered as Second Class Ma Matter Lebanon, Pa. Post Office

Mr. and Mrs. Paul S. Martin
235 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

MAR. 1, 1959
VOL. 25 NO. 5

"BROTHERHOOD WEEK" TEST'S COUNTRY'S SINCERITY

Brotherhood Week, 1959, came to a nation more deeply involved than ever sorting out the implications of its religious and political heritage as they pply to racial and other group divisions. In the South there were signs of both llapsing and stiffening resistance to integration of schools; in the North there ere indications of healthy self-examination on the subject of discrimination.

Most significant development in the uth was the collapse of Virginia's massive resistance" to school in- gration. A few Negro students are tending hitherto all-white schools in rfolk, Arlington, Alexandria and ront Royal. In the first three com- unities there have been no reports of fficulties; in Front Royal 22 Negroes tended the big high school in soli- ry splendor as a boycott by whites oved 100 percent effective.

Neither development can be inter- eted at face value. In Front Royal ere are reportedly many "moderates" ho will become increasingly restive the absurdity of a thousand children tting makeshift private instruction ile a modern public school stands idle.

On the other hand, a general col- pse of segregation is not necessarily hand. New "pupil placement laws," tended to slow down integration, have en upheld by the Supreme Court. In lorida, which has such a law, Gov. eroy Collins has warned that the state ust have "some integration" to make e law stand up. The strategy would , of course, to admit a few Negroes a kind of integrated isolation and to clude the others on grounds other an race. Negroes might then have to ove in each case that race was the de- rmining factor, a formidable legal task.

In the North there were signs that hites were becoming sensitive to the harge that if they were going to call r racial integration in the South, their vn house needed to be put in order. asically this means the ending of an ex- nsive system of segregation in housing.

Conscription Still An Issue

A bill extending the draft for four more years has passed the House of Representatives but has not yet been acted on by the Senate. Separate legislation will be needed to extend the "UMT" program of six months of training plus 5½ years of reserve duty which expires August 1, 1959. Neither house thus far has acted to extend that program.

For full information we, suggest the National Council Against Conscription's new study, The Cost of Conscription, *endorsed by Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester and 57 other prominent Americans. It sells for 10¢.*

Spreading across the country is a new network of small groups who find ways of bringing together prospective Negro buyers or renters with sellers or landlords who will not discriminate. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, congregations of two of the city's biggest churches endorsed pledges to accept as neighbors people of any race or creed. In Nyack, N. Y., home of FOR national headquarters, the local paper carried an advertisement indicating the willingness of 500 Rockland County signers to welcome good neighbors regardless of race or religion. The ad was initiated by FOR member Mrs. James Best and the Rockland Friends Meeting. A similar ad in Bloomfield, N. J., had 200 signatures, and there were reports of others elsewhere. Brotherhood showed signs of growing from a pleasant sentiment to a dynamic reality.

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Dutch Pacifists Gird for Elections

Under a slogan of "Socialism without atomic bombs," the Pacifist Socialist Party of the Netherlands is preparing for its first entries in parliamentary elections this year. Founded in 1956, the party won two seats in a 1957 provincial election and went on to score further gains in elections to communal councils, winning as many as 12 percent of the seats in one region and 5 percent in another. Observers estimate that the PSP has a fair chance of winning 1-4 of the 150 seats in parliament. The PSP's immediate goals are partial disarmament and the abolition of civil defense and conscription, and drastic reduction of arms expenditures, aiming eventually to discontinue the latter completely. The party calls for allocating 10 percent of the arms budget for aid to underdeveloped countries.

IFOR Youth, CST State Policy On Vienna World Youth Meeting

The European Youth Committee of the International FOR, meeting in Amsterdam, January 1-3, decided to send a team of 30 Christian pacifists to the Communist-inspired World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna this summer. IFOR Secretary Hildegard Goss-Mayr is organizing a preparatory conference, to be held in Vienna, July 21-25. The festival dates are July 26 - August 4.

To avoid the possibility of being exploited in Communist propaganda, the team will not attend the festival as a delegation; instead, members of the team will go as observers. Plans are being made to circulate IFOR lea lets printed in Russian and other lan uages to bring the pacifist message Communist youth.

In the United States, the Counc on Student Travel has set up an Ind pendent Service for Information on t Vienna Youth Festival for those wh wish to go to the meeting without len ing support to the Communists. Furth information may be obtained from Le nard Bebchick, 324 College Hou Offices, Harvard Square, Cambrid 38, Mass. The Information Service h printed a brochure on its purpose a is preparing background papers a other materials that will aid Americ youth in articulating a genuinely dem cratic viewpoint in discussions wi Communists at the festival.

United Church Endorses Recognition of Red China

On February 19, the Council f Christian Social Action of the Unit Church of Christ endorsed the propos of the Fifth World Order Study Conf ence held last November, urging dipl matic recognition of Communist Chin "We believe," the Council declare "that world order, justice and pea would under certain conditions be be ter served by the inclusion of the Pe ples Republic of China in the UN a its recognition by our government th by continuing the present situation The conditions are "a settlement Korea and international agreemen protecting all the people on Taiw (Formosa)."

Japanese Vote for Bases

In two small but significant ele tion contests in Japan, peace cand dates were defeated on issues invol ing military bases. On February 7, t mayor of Ogawa was recalled in a sp cial election in which the key iss was the building of an air base. Fo days later, residents of the island Niijima voted 10-6 for a majority village assembly candidates who f vored the building of a missile testi range on the island.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION

FOR member Mrs. Robert C. Nagler s recently granted U. S. citizenship hough she stated that she would re- e military service. Because she is oman Catholic without formal church iliation, the naturalization examiner peared to doubt her sincerity, but American Civil Liberties Union nted out that formal membership in peace church" is not a prerequisite CO status.

* * *

Dr. Martin Niemöller, noted FOR mber and president of the German angelical Church of Hesse-Nassau, s been charged in court by the De- se Ministry for allegedly defaming German armed forces. In a speech Kassel, Niemöller had said that the ining of Commando units of the for- r German army was a school for po- tial war criminals. The Defense nistry's charge was based on a press ort which alleged that Niemöller d said, instead, "The training of ldiers...for leading positions in the litary command posts must be re- rded as a higher school for profes- nal criminals."

Niemöller has been a leader of the angelical Fraternities, an unofficial urch group campaigning against nu- ar arms for West Germany, and has oken often in opposition to the De- se Ministry's plans for atomic weap- s.

* * *

A new group called Students for nviolence has been organized by cifists in Chicago. The first meet- , held at the home of FOR members nneth and Ellanor Calkins on Jan- ry 27, was attended by 30 people o heard an address by Karl Meyer d a panel discussion of *The Causes World War Three* by C. Wright Mills.

* * *

FOR National Council member Byron nson was one of 22 Congressmen o voted against renewal of the mili- y conscription law last month. In ate on the floor of the House, John- n called for "training young men as technical missionaries with slide rules, with medical kits, to fight Communism on a positive basis...as missionaries of peace."

Another "peace Congressman," William H. Meyer of Vermont, said that the growth of militarism in the U. S. "poses a threat to most of our institutions and creates an unevaluated inner peril," and he protested the haste with which the bill was steamrollered through Congress.

* * *

Charles C. Walker, FOR Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary, has prepared a mimeographed list of reading matter on capital punishment. With the rise of interest in the question being sparked by such films as *I Want to Live* and the French import *We Are All Murderers,* as well as last year's "Omnibus" presentation of the issue by Joseph N. Welch on TV, many FOR members will want to improve their store of information by writing to Walker at Cheyney, Pa.

Walker recommends Arthur Koestler's *Reflections on Hanging* and Playfair & Sington's *The Offenders* as two "basic books" on the subject. These were reviewed in *Fellowship* July 1, 1958 and may be ordered from Fellowship Publications. Also recommended are such articles as "Murder and the Penalty of Death," edited by Thorstein Sellin, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science,* November 1952 (166 pp.) and "Reflections on the Guillotine" by Albert Camus in the *Evergreen Review,* Fall 1957.

* * *

Two FOR members, Victor Dye and Carroll Lemon, were instrumental in securing justice for Lloyd Grandsinger, a 25-year-old Sioux Indian who was acquitted of murder on November 25, 1958. Grandsinger had earlier been sentenced to death as a result of a confession obtained by physical and mental abuse. Lemon, a Disciples minister, served as chairman of a defense committee set up to seek a new trial,

(Continued on next page)

and Dye brought the case to the attention of the Association on American Indian Affairs, which aided in raising funds for legal expenses. A third FOR member, Caleb Foote, as a professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, was among the attorneys who worked on the case.

* * *

FOR member Roger N. Baldwin recently called attention to the "damaging international implications" of the U. S. prosecution of Julian Schuman and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Powell under a 1917 sedition law -- "particularly after court dismissal of all other sedition prosecutions." Schuman and the Powells resided in Shanghai, China, during the Korean War and published the *China Monthly Review* there, containing articles critical of U. S. policy.

Baldwin, a founder and formerly director of the American Civil Liberties Union, termed it "the most important civil liberties case" still pending in the U. S. The trial began on January 26 in San Francisco.

* * *

George M. Houser, director of the American Committee on Africa, appealed to the UN Trusteeship Council last month to examine the reasons why the government of Tanganyika had declared him a "prohibited immigrant." Houser, who is also a member of the FOR Executive Committee, was barred from that African trust territory in July 1957, ostensibly on the whim of colonial officials.

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The Wall of Alienation

"It is only through an acceptance of the ultimate moral responsibilities of mankind that the way to reconciliation can be found. The first requirement for healing mankind's divisions is a concession of our alienation from a just order of life and a confession of our common responsibility for it."

--Daniel Day Williams, Prof. of Christian Theology, Union Theological Seminary,

"We have a great challenge -- to destroy the enmity, not the enemy; to break down the wall and be one. Our defense should not be defense by deterrent, but defense by repentance. It is time that we were making an impact on the mind and souls of men."

--Edwin T. Dahlberg, President, National Council of Churches

MARCH 1, 1959 30c

ellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Lens

HINA'S LEAP: THE HUMAN COST

George M. Houser — PAN-AFRICANISM ENTERS A NEW ERA
John M. Swomley Jr. — PINCERS ON BERLIN
Elizabeth Briant Lee — AS THE TWIG IS BENT
John R. Yungblut — 'THY GENTLENESS HATH MADE ME GREAT'

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Box 271, Nyack, New York

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Pan-Africanism Enters a New Era—George M. Houser . . . 15

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COVER PHOTO: Members of an Agricultural Producers' Cooperative sowing wheat in Szechuan Province, China. Credit: Eastfoto.

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FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP IS PUBLISHED BY THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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$3 A YEAR

in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

APED

The government's recent disclosure that possesses tape recordings of conversations ong Soviet fighter pilots engaged in rsuing and shooting down an American litary transport that had strayed over viet territory, is another indication of the rld of fantasy-become-real in which we to catch our breath. Since the State partment and Air Force declined to re- al how they had come into possession of ese dramatic recordings it was not hard many citizens to see some merit in oscow's immediate cry of "fake." The re- ase of the tapes five months after the cident occurred and just when the Air rce was smarting under reduced appro- iations, gave good reason for suspicion; any Americans remember wryly the fre- ency with which "mysterious" sub- arines have been sighted off our coast- ne just when Navy appropriations were ing debated in Congress.

The suspicion appears to be unwar- nted, but the reports that have come out connection with the recordings are even ore alarming. These are, first, that the nited States, with British help, maintains chain of listening posts on the very edge the Soviet Union, and second, that U. S. litary planes regularly fly over the terri- ry of the Soviet Union on reconnaissance ghts and are sometimes attacked or rced down.

The first report, quoted by *The New ork Times** and the *Progressive*,† ap- ared last spring in the Oxford University agazine, *Isis*. It reads in part:

> All along the frontier between East and West from Iraq to the Baltic and perhaps farther are monitoring stations avidly record- ng the least squeak from Russian transmit- ers, ships, tanks, airplanes, troops and con- trol stations.
>
> It is believed, perhaps rightly, that this flagrant breach of the Geneva Convention can provide accurate estimates of the size and type of Russian arms and troops and the nature of their tactical methods.
>
> In order to get this information, the West has been willing to go to extraordinary lengths of deception. British Embassies usually contain monitoring spies . . .

The second aspect of the matter has been reported more than once by responsible journalists, but most specifically in the January 1958 issue of *Missiles and Rockets:*

> Numerous and continuing [Strategic Air Command] flights over the sovereign territory of the USSR demonstrate this. . . . Their [SAC] aircraft continue to fly over the Soviet Union with a relative degree of immunity. It is true that modern Russian fighters attack our bombers with major advantages of altitude, speed and maneuverability. It is also true that they score some hits. But so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles [possibly] because they don't want to tip their hands.

The dangers are too obvious to labor, but Americans who feel acquiescent should ask themselves what this country's reaction would be to a chain of Soviet listening posts along the Canadian and Mexican borders, and to the flights of even reportedly "lost" unarmed Soviet military planes from nearby air bases to points hundreds of miles inside our frontier. And, if an American plane were to shoot down such an invader and thus cause an incident that provoked war, which of the two nations they would label "aggressor!"

BULL

Eugene "Bull" Conner, police chief of Birmingham, Alabama, recently attempted to dismiss the FOR's work against racial segregation in that city and elsewhere in the South by implying that the Fellowship is "Communist." Indeed, said Mr. Conner, the whole effort for integration, in Little Rock and across the South, is a "conspiracy" of the Communist party.

Many of our friends groan despairingly

---

* February 8, 1959.

† Charles Edmundson in "Daggers Against Diplo- cy," February 1959. This entire article, revealing dangerously warlike activities of the Central In- igence Agency, is very much worth reading.

when such things happen, but we think they are too faint of heart. Mr. Conner works for our cause more than for what he thinks is his; if the FOR were paying him as an undercover agent, his services could be no more valuable to us than those we get for free.

Because when Mr. Conner dismisses the efforts to do away with racial injustice as a Communist conspiracy, he makes it increasingly difficult for many of his fellow citizens to stay on his side. There are stupid people in the South, just as there are in the North or anywhere else you care to look, but most Southerners are not stupid. They can accept rationalizations as justification for continuing the segregation pattern, but it is much more difficult to accept outright lies, and whether or not he admits it even to himself, the intelligent Southerner recognizes this as a lie.

The intelligent Southern white knows quite well that when he tolerates segregation he tolerates something unworthy of his best values. Find him a rationalization —which is to say a small truth beefed up to support an outsized load of guilt—and he's all right, but put him in the position of having to condone idiocy as well as injustice, and the burden threatens to become insupportable.

The Conners and the Faubuses do the cause of integration a service by painting its opposition in the nastiest possible hues. It's too bad to belabor old aphorisms, but it is almost true that if such men did not exist we might have to invent them.

PACIFISM'S NEW WORLD—I

There is a stirring, no doubt. More members joined the FOR last year than for many preceding years. More young people are participating in peace activities. Some hundreds of people trudged down city streets and country roads, carrying placards for peace. Various forms of direct action multiplied, and some leading intellectuals not previously identified with us have made noises startlingly similar to pacifist noises.

But the new members were still counted in the hundreds, and all the new activities and new voices together are a very small drop in a very large bucket. The others—the millions who could fill the bucket to overflowing—remain indifferent to t crisis that seems to us overwhelming.

This problem of communication is major concern—perhaps *the* major conc —in pacifism's new world. How do communicate, not just our suggested so tions, but the very existence of the cri Reginald Reynolds, the brilliant Engli pacifists whose unexpected death in A tralia last December was such a blow the peace movement, wrote not long a "Even to disseminate anxiety ought . . . be of some value. One circle of causati in which I am caught is due to the f that I am frustrated because I cannot sh my frustration."*

Reginald Reynolds was oppressed by t conviction that none of the three grou into which he divided his pacifist friends speaking to "Mrs. Brown," who personifi for him the great indifferent public. N the "good old sloggers who cling brav to . . . slogans and activities which ha been proved and tested by decades of c mal failure." Not the Perfectionists, w "leave me with an awkward feeling th they are talking very good sense abo town planning when the immediate a urgent necessity is a fire engine." Not t actionists, whose "campaign against capi punishment" means to "picket prisons a seek to convert the hangman."

Reynolds did not profess to have a answers. His only claim was to a clue. T clue was the discovery by the penal former Edward Gibbon Wakefield that t savage laws that once doomed men, wom and children to death by hanging f trivial thefts, still did not deter the thie because *the penalty was so great that was beyond the average person's powers imagine it*. So with nuclear war, s Reynolds; its reality is so terrible that may be "easily excluded by unconsci mechanisms of the mind."

But how, then? How shall we reach M Brown, and Mr. Brown, and all their nei bors? And how shall we reach them time? It is the biggest question of our a

COWARD

The key to the pacifist case is not elaborate structure of theology, or

* "The Map of Mrs. Brown," *Peace News*, 8, 1958.

itical analysis, or of a combination of se with various social and economic ories. The key is what we refer to as erence for personality: reverence and cern for the individual human person-y—*every* individual human personality ecause it is a part of a Whole.

Of the nature of the Whole we have only es, and our individual visions range a le spectrum from the image of a benevo-t white-bearded old gentleman to a kind cosmic intelligence not susceptible of cription by our earth-bound vocabu-ies. But of the Whole's abiding essence have an agreement that forms a bridge m the bearded patriarch to the incor-eal intelligence, and it is that the es-ce, both nature and method, is love. e bridge is the distillate of many forms religious experience, and explains why igious pacifism need not be exclusively ristian or Jewish, orthodox or liberal, to a fellowship of meaning and power.

t is this reverence for personality that es the pacifist from the devil theory that dergirds war. It is what enlists him in uggles for the civil rights of Negroes and civil liberties of all citizens, and what gages his attention in all kinds of emes for building a less exploitative eco-mic system, for breaking down prison lls and ending capital punishment and roducing compassion and love into ntal hospitals. Though he lapses often, is this, too, that modifies even his atti-les toward those who epitomize the ls he hates—militarism, racism, imperial-n, exploitation—so that in the midst of uggle he sees beneath the soldier's uni-m or the Klansman's sheet the personal-that deserves reverence and needs un-rstanding and love.

Only one type of personality persistently ades this concern: the coward. Behind quaking façade few pacifists seem to ve seen the vision of a beloved personal-. For the human being who is a coward and who but human beings do we think when we use the word?—we have only dain. The gentlest, most saintly pacifists ite agree that "of course" it is better to im and kill resisting evil than to ac-iesce in "cowardly" fashion. "Coward" very nearly the only smear-word on which cifists do agree.

Probably it is a sign of our humanity. Pacifists are rarely accused of being militarists, or racists, or imperialists, and when they are labeled communists they have a whole heritage of civil liberties out of which to dredge a resistant snort. But pacifists are sensitive to the charge of cowardice, perhaps because even for them "courage" still evokes pictures of violent physical action.

Is there such a thing as a coward? And if there is, in these days of deepening psychological insights, who is he? The man who brings beauty and compassion into his personal relationships, but cringes and runs from physical danger? Or the man whose anti-social life is a record of self-rejection and fear, but who proves to be indomitably heroic on the battlefield? The woman whose feelings of "insecurity" bring her eventually to collapse and a mental hospital, or the woman provoked by the same feelings to play the role of dominant, strident bully in her family and community?

Army studies of men in combat have demonstrated that every man has a breaking-point, and that the most sensitive may come to it much sooner than the phlegmatic. But whether the individual finds escape from unbearable reality through physical flight or mental collapse, he is still the individual bound to us by that fact of being part of the Whole, whose nature and method is love.

The pacifist's reverence for personality requires the expression of compassion and support where they are most needed. No one stands more in need than the person whose knowledge of himself as a "coward" is a constant interior torment.

It is a smear word we can well do without.

FORGOTTEN

Last year the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to a Roman Catholic priest, Father Dominique Georges Henri Pire, who for the past decade has been giving shelter and comfort to people made homeless by war. Thinking of the prize money, Father Pire said, "What a lot of good I would be able to do with that $40,000."

Somewhere out of sight of the statesmen who quibble almost daily over matters of national sovereignty and security, is the

human debris of past wars. While most of the world goes about its business, people like Father Pire and a few others remember, and go on caring and working for the forgotten people. Many of them are pacifists: the Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren have been in the forefront of such work. COs like Don Murray have shouldered this burden of brotherhood while other young men were shouldering the weapons that turn ordinary people into refugees.

Not all the refugees are victims of war, but the responsibility is not different. Dr. Elfan Rees, advisor on refugee affairs to the World Council of Churches, said in December, "The original and the ultimate responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem lies with governments and their actions in the international community. It was governments who decreed the partition of Korea, Viet Nam, India and Germany." Some of the victims are small children who have never seen the world outside the refugee camps. In India and Pakistan alone there are an estimated thirteen million homeless people and every year 25,000 children are born into the cesspools of hate that Arab refugee camps have become.

The United Nations has declared 1959 a World Refugee Year. All men of good will should welcome the announcement as a signal to eliminate indifference toward the more than 40 million human beings who remain to be resettled and treated like human beings. As they roll up their sleeves, however, they might reflect that if a nuclear war breaks out, *all* the survivors will be refugees. As we go about the needed work of helping the victims of past wars, there is an enormous job of preventive medicine to be done. Peacemakers were never so urgently needed in the world as they are today.

IN PASSING

Dr. Wernher von Braun, who was the genius behind Hitler's last desperate efforts to win the war with the V-2 rockets, on January 16 was given the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service. His record, observed President Eisenhower, stands as "a lasting monument to the ingenuity and ability of Federal employees."

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

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CHINA'S LEAP:

The Human Cost

BY SID LENS

NE OF THE UNFORTUNATE features of our inflammable world is the pronced tendency of many people to take s so vigorously that they see only all-k or all-white, without any shadings of y. In this era of rigid clichés and prested opinions, people tend to become ted partisans, unwilling to give the er side credit even for the right time. ericans, for instance, see in communism hing but black totalitarianism. The de-e in illiteracy, the economic growth, the proved medical conditions and other as-ts of Soviet life are downgraded to in-ificance. Conversely, the communists see in "bourgeois democracy" nothing the dictatorship of the upper class, the ful conspiracy against colonial peoples a "decadent" culture. The free trade ons, the higher living standards, the its of habeas corpus and other civil lib-es, are also dismissed as either sham or levance. On both sides of the iron cur-the fluid character of reality gets lost ewhere in the emotional waters of ad-acy.

t is with this in mind that one ought make an estimate both of the pluses minuses of the current "leap forward" Communist China.

The great oriental nation, where one-rth of humanity lives under squalid sistence conditions, ended 1958 in an nomic blaze evidently unequaled in his-. The "big leap forward," as its pro-m is called, resulted in sensational sta-cs. The production of iron and steel, million tons in 1957, more than doubled—in one year—to 10.7 million tons. Next year it is expected to double again, to twenty million. Hundreds of thousands of tiny blast furnaces dot the countryside. When the year began it was anticipated that 13,000 such furnaces would be added, but by July the figure was 45,000 and on September 10 the regime announced 350,000—with 20 million men and women directly employed on these projects. If these figures are accurate they come close to the millenium; even if they are not, they indicate that something titanic is going on behind the so-called bamboo curtain.

The results in agriculture are equally startling. In just twelve short months the regime claims that production of basic foodstuffs skyrocketed from 185 million tons in 1957 to between 300 and 350 million today. Raw cotton growing doubled, peanut production rose by 124 per cent, and so forth and so on. All in all the increase in agricultural yield was—if the figures are correct—a phenomenal 60 to 90 per cent. Irrigation of new acreage was equally breathtaking. In 1949, for instance, there were only 53 million acres of irrigated land; in 1957-58 alone 74.1 million new acres were watered. All told, China now has 160.5 million out of 286.5 million acres irrigated and is no doubt adding to this figure even while these words await print.

The "big leap forward" is aimed at bringing China up to British economic standards in a short time, and then overtaking the West. In steel and other basic materials the goal is clearly in sight, though no one should forget that China is produc-

ing for a nation of 600 million, while Britain utilizes its product for a nation one-thirteenth as populous. In other areas the disparity will no doubt continue for a long, long time to come. Even Russia, after 41 years of its revolution, is producing only 40 per cent of the total national gross product of the United States.

A Wide Gulf to Bridge

China had two advantages that Russia did not have in the 1930s: it could draw on the lessons of the earlier experiment to avoid some of its pitfalls and it has received, up to now, $2.2 billion in aid from the Kremlin. The Soviet Union had no such help. But China had the serious disadvantage that its economic base was far weaker than that of the first communist country. Its steel production was negligible at the outset and its standard of living even lower than that of India. It will take many decades—even under the best circumstances—before the disparity between China and the West can be bridged.

The industrial statistics in themselves, however, are not the only barometer of China's development. It has been the practice of the communist countries to emphasize production records in order to hide the human cost of economic progress. In any country trying to leap forward there is always a delicate balance between how much is put aside for new capital and how much for new consumption. If too much is poured into new factories, there is not enough for food, shelter and clothing, the people sulk, work poorly and become bitter; and the state in turn must use repressive measures to keep its people in line. That, unfortunately, has been the methodology of communism. A generation ago the Russians too were intoxicated with figures.

The liberal community in America and elsewhere was intensely enthusiastic as Stalinist Russia recorded percentage increases in steel, iron, coal, and electricity. The collectivization of agriculture was presented as the 1930 version of the "big leap forward" that dazzled the world. It was Stalin's great victory. Men who believed fervidly in democracy were so impressed with Soviet production successes that they condoned the expulsion of Trotsky, B kharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other le ers of the revolution from both the pa and government. When newspaper co spondents wrote of the 1933 man-ma famine in the Ukraine, which claimed f to nine million lives, it was greeted w disbelief—just another example of slan by the "capitalist press." Later, when purge trials took place, from 1936 to 19 and a whole generation of revolution leaders were executed, the production s cesses continued to blur men's vision. H could a country that was so "progressi resort to frame-up trials? Liberals and so socialists couldn't believe it. And wh during the war, the West first learned large forced labor camps and the indig ties committed against many millions, th were still some liberals left who would concede that Russia was paying a fear price for its industrial development.

In the light of this, we must ask o selves whether the present miracle in Ch is not leading to the same purges, forc labor, and monolithicism.

The Propaganda Picture

Noteworthy in the glowing words e nating from China is the omission of human costs of the "big leap." Apolog for the regime—in many cases the sa ones who played a similar role during Russian five-year plans, such as An Louise Strong—still talk of "volunta participation by the people; and talk it in the same terms and with the sa shoddy arguments that were made th decades ago. We are to presume, for stance, that 500 million people "willing gave up their small plots of land, first to formed into collectives and then to grouped into 24,000 large communes—latter in the astoundingly short period half a year! We are to presume that million people last year and 150 mill this year are *"enthusiastic"* about work on irrigation projects and other hard la during off-season when farm work is ov "The communes," writes Miss Strong, gan last spring (1958) on peasant ini tive. The government leaders watch th things like hawks and so everybody fr Mao Tsetung down went visiting fa

came up with an analysis which sum-rized and gave a name to what the pea-ts were doing. When this analysis hit countryside, the rural population recog-ed it as what they were waiting for and an forming people's communes like l."

his is—to be charitable—a figment of eone's propaganda machine. Five hun-d million people, mostly illiterate, who e been living for generations in their h little huts, under rigid forms of fam-life, do not willingly change over to ng in dormitories, separated from their es and children, visiting their wives e on week-ends, "willingly" and "like d." Without coercion of the most strin-t nature such a feat is impossible. ether or not the commune is a social forward, it can-be formed so sim-— between spring autumn. The ex-ience of Russia, Po-d, Yugoslavia — in the communist ntries in fact—is clusive that peas-s violently resist be-grouped into larg-units. In Yugoslavia and Poland the ime retreated from collectivization be-se it was so unpopular with the peasants. s impossible to believe that the individ-istic peasant is any less individualistic in ina. If anything he is probably more so.

Utopia on $1.60 a Week?

o gild the shadowy lily, Miss Strong aks of one commune "two hours out of nghai," which lists seven to fourteen ns of "free supply"—free meals "sup-ed around the clock in public canteens l out in the fields," free clothing "all ored to demand in the tailor's co-op," e maternity care, free education, free ldings, free toilet articles, free funerals, e laundry and mending, free medical vice, free cinema and theatre, free hair-s and baths, free housing, and "free ppy Courtyards" for the aged. In this nderful commune says the writer, "there ow so much food that nobody can eat all." Appropriately enough the same newspaper which carried this dispatch had a heading directly underneath: "fish story —Chinese style." When the Communists took the helm in 1949, China's national income was a mere $12 billion, according to the United Nations—or some $25 a year per capita. More optimistic estimates doubled this figure, but China was still one of the poorest nations in the world, even below India in the economic scale. Admittedly there have been titanic improvements since then, but China is still a long, long way from the point where any of its people "now have so much food that nobody can eat it all." Even if per capita income has been tripled—which is hardly likely—hunger must still be rampant in China, particularly since the state invests 18 cents out of every national-income dollar in new enterprise and additional sums for government and national defense. Taking the larger figure of $25 billion, tripling it and deducting the one-third that goes for capital formation and government expenses, that would still make a consumer income of only $50 billion, or $80 per person year for food, clothing and shelter. No one is going to gorge himself on $1.60 a week, leaving aside the costs for clothing and other essentials.

To be sure, Chinese economy is making progress, but there is no need to exaggerate the extent nor to overlook the cost. Every thoughtful person must be pleased that a nation at the brink of starvation is rising from its slumber. The Chinese, like the Russians before them, are proving that a state-directed economy in this historical period can do what a chaotic laissez-faire economy cannot. Every underdeveloped nation, from India to Ghana, today recognizes the necessity of state planning and state control over the economy. Even some of the hard-headed free-enterprisers in America are slowly coming to this conclusion for the underdeveloped areas. But the question still remains, for China today as for Russia yesterday, what *human* price must be paid for industrial development? How rapidly can a nation industrialize

without intense suffering by its people—purges, imprisonments, executions, regimentation?

The "Squeeze" Behind the Statistics

Here, alas, the Chinese story is not so promising as the bare statistics of steel production. There is every indication that the human cost of industrialization will, like the Russian cost, be exorbitant. Not only are old patterns of life being unceremoniously uprooted, but the work day and the work year are being greatly increased. Capital formation in China is being squeezed out of the additional labor of its citizens—just as in Russia a generation before, but probably more so. According to René Dumont, a correspondent for the French newspaper *Le Monde,* the Chinese peasant worked in 1955 an "average of perhaps 125 days" a year. In 1958, in many parts of the country, it was more than 300 days. In many rural areas there were only two days off per month.

Unwittingly Anna Louise Strong throws some light on this process of "squeezing" the population through more work. Miss Strong quotes an American woman, Shirley Wood, a school teacher in Honan, who is married to a Chinese. Mrs. Wood, as may be expected, is a Communist enthusiast. She takes pride in describing her work load. "Since October 10," she says, "we stopped classes till the end of the month to do steel. We are on from 7:30 A.M. till 10:30 P.M., studying mornings, steel afternoons, and revising our teaching methods in the evenings, to conform with the labor emphasis." If that 15-hour day is not enough, Mrs. Wood also works through the night. "Since the baby does not eat between 7 P.M. and 4 A.M., I also shall be out most of the night." Such devotion, it may safely be assumed, is highly synthetic—and strongly reminiscent of the similar tales that emanated from Russia when workers were supposedly "volunteering" to work Sundays and two hours a day overtime to increase production. On closer examination, birth in China today and in Russia yesterday, it must be obvious that there may be a few "stakhanovites" like Shirley Wood, but six hundred million people do not willingly work 15-hour days, and then take a turn on the "graveyard" sh
High spirits tend to lag under such
cumstances. If the enthusiasm were
it would not be necessary for the Ma
regime to take such a harsh position aga
"revisionists" and to turn its back on
own "let-a-hundred-flowers-bloom" po
of last year. If the workers were content
state could well afford to permit free t
unions to function. The lack of element
democracy is a sufficient testament to
content.

Millions Have Paid With Their Live

When you shift 500 million peopl
three times the population of the Uni
States—from their hearth and home
strange new dormitories or common lo
ings, there must inevitably be malaise
opposition. People who have lived
dividualistic lives don't react favorably
group discipline; the process of transfo
ing human psychology is clearly comp
and of long duration. Years after Ru
embarked on "collectivization"—in
and the early thirties—it became kno
that the "voluntary" grouping of peas
was far from voluntary, that millions
to be packed off to Siberia and milli
more slaughtered their cattle and
other measures of sabotage against
regime. Russian collectivization was
less extreme than the Chinese commu
The collectives brought together a
thousand people at most; the commu
erupt as many as 300,000 citizens from th
homes. In Russia, during sixty-five
from December 27, 1929 to March 2, 19
at least two million peasants were banish
according to a pro-Soviet correspondent
The New York Times. Others, less friend
put it at five to six million.

How much of this is now going on
China? How many people are be
killed or imprisoned? How many are for
into labor brigades? How many of
100 million "volunteers" are really
unteers? How many citizens are be
purged or shot? No one knows, for
simple reason that the Chinese press
the Russian press is state-controlled.
does not publish material critical of
regime. According to *Time* magazine,
Chinese Minister of Finance, Po I-po,

ed in late 1952 that two million ndits" had been executed. The same lication records the estimate by West- experts that 14 million people were idated during the land reform cam- n in 1951 alone. This figure very likely xaggerated, but even accepting the nce Minister's figure, that would mean one of every three hundred Chinese condemned to death from 1949 to . That was before the collectivization before the communes. Is it reasonable ssume that the number of opponents to present extreme measures is less than to the former, milder ones? The West- newspapers speak of a persistent revolt hinese Tibet and of a small revolt in ffshore island near Macao. The Chinese munists themselves indicated there is iderable dissatisfaction by publicizing liquidation of a "nest of American, ng Kai-shek spies."

he last words on this subject of com- ion, imprisonments and executions not yet been written—either in China n Russia. It must be remembered that n's crimes during the 1930s were not irmed officially until Khrushchev took rostrum during the Twentieth Congress he Soviet Communist Party in 1956. slave labor camps have now been idated in Russia, but there are still no es on how extensive this phenomenon It is much too early to evaluate the an cost of the Chinese experiment, icularly the "big leap" begun in 1958.

Starvation As a Way of Life

he whole situation must be viewed in perspective. The mood of desperation hina is easy to understand. A nation confined to an area only one-third larger than the United States, with six hundred million people, eighty-five per cent of whom eked out a tenuous existence on strips of land usually no larger than a single acre, it had to do something and do it fast.

Assuming that millions are being forced to labor long and painfully; assuming that China is now totally regimented; assuming even that hundreds of thousands if not millions are being executed for opposition to the regime—the fact still remains that poverty, famine, disease and hunger would have taken millions of lives anyway. Without "big leaps forward" millions would perish from famine alone each year. We in the West do not appreciate the economic horrors of an underdeveloped country. India, for instance, is a nation with 550,000 villages. China is reported to have one million. Most of these are unconnected with the outside world except through foot trails or at best dirt wagon roads. Some are in inaccessible mountain areas. When the monsoons come, once a year, the whole hinterland becomes one mudpath, with communication down to the negligible point: only a burro or a good jeep can make it from village to village. Most peasants subsist on one or two meals a day.

A Chinese peasant who used to own three or four acres of land was in very good straits indeed. Usually he worked a single acre, which he rented from a landlord to whom he paid 35 to 60 percent of his yield. Seldom did a year go by without millions living under the kind of famines pictured in Pearl Buck's book, *The Good Earth*, eating tree bark, leaves, rats, cats, anything. Figures on this subject are not plentiful, but in the three-year period 1927-29, 119 million people were subjected to prolonged

China's "Big Leap" Viewed from Afar by the Rich and Powerful

"Mr. Dulles spoke [in San Francisco, Dec. 1958] of the horrors being visited on he Chinese. 'Individuality and personality are brutally suppressed,' Mr. Dulles said. n the good old days, the poorest coolie or rickshaw boy, after his day's work in hanghai, could shop around according to individual taste . . . before deciding which oorway or gutter he would sleep in that night. Personality flowered. 'Children,' Mr. Dulles went on with his description of the new commune system, 'are placed in wholesale nurseries, so that the women can also be part of the slave labor.' In the ood old days, there were no 'wholesale'—or even private, retail—nurseries; children ere not separated from their mothers; both worked."

—I. F. Stone's Weekly, Dec. 15, 1958.

starvation and millions undoubtedly perished. It was not unusual for ten to fifty million Chinese citizens to be starving in a single year. The depth of this human poverty can still be appreciated by a single night's visit to a city like Calcutta; if you walk through the streets at 3 A.M. or 4 A.M. you will see hundreds of dead bodies being picked off the streets, men and women who died of either hunger or disease during the night. Under such circumstances, drastic measures are clearly in order. The point is, how drastic? Does a government have the right to sacrifice people wilfully, to coerce, regiment them?

Which Kind of Death?

Many liberals and socialists, if they were suddenly confronted with a problem such as that of China today, would have difficulty resolving the dilemma. The term "middle course" sounds good in the abstract, but when applied to living realities that have deteriorated as badly as the social conditions of the underdeveloped areas, it is another matter again. The choice is always hard. On the one side is stagnation—and death through hunger; on the other an industrial tempo so rapid that it requires totalitarian compulsion, purges and executions—again, death, but through state edict. One of the tragedies of countries like China and Russia is that the governments do not even pose this dilemma to their citizens; they do not take them into their confidence. If they were honest about it, they would tell their citizens: "We are taking extraordinary measures which deprive you of liberty and democracy, but the minute we can, we will relax." That would hardly appease those who die or are imprisoned, but at least it would mitigate the evil, and promise relaxation in the future. As it is, the communist world creates ideological and physical tensions which inevitably burst into new revolutions. Since the war, communism has been confronted by the revolts in Berlin, Poznan, Warsaw, Hungary, the strikes at Vorkuta, and the defection of Yugoslavia.

In any new nation, unless there is a liberalization from the top, there must eventually be a revolution at the bottom. Fortunate is that country where the pressures from the bottom force the top to yield c sistent democratic concessions. That the case, for instance, with the Da revolution in the 19th century, and to s extent with the American Revolution a 1776—though we too had our Shay's bellion and other acts of violence in "critical years" of 1783-88. The commun who claim to be "scientists" of social olution, do not even concede that they totalitarian. Instead they insist on the lie" of "workers' and peasants' democra This indicates the essential unconcern humanistic means—in fact with hum istic goals. Therein lies one of the g weaknesses both of the Soviet "big forward" in the 1930s and the present in China. The principle that human bei are irrelevant seems to be woven into doctrine of these regimes; and though can understand the forces of poverty backwardness that feed this false doctr one cannot overlook its dire results.

The Responsibility of the West

The West likes to shrill about Soviet Chinese terror. But it does not concede own role in this terror. If it were not the anti-revolutionary activity of the W for more than a century, and now the icy of military encirclement, the East m have been won over to a democratic cou Britain, France, the United States others have never accepted their shar guilt for the crimes of Stalinism; nor t role as accessories to the Chinese totali ianism. During the whole 19th cent and at least the first quarter of this the West—having won its own national dependence in the previous hundred —subverted almost every other nati revolution. From 1850 to 1864 the tionary Manchu dynasty in China wracked with rebellion. But instead of h ing such nationalist revolts the West them as a basis for prying open the of China; it forced the Chinese to yiel new ports for trade and residence to W erners, to grant the West extraterritoria the right to its own customs, and to sta foreign warships in Chinese waters. West took advantage of these interna volts for its own profit, instead of hel the Chinese people. Russia annexed

ire area north of the Amur River. nce took Indo-China, Britain took rma. Eventually 28 nations were sta- ned in China, each with its separate vileges.

One of the tragic features of the present ristian world is how easy this historical ne lies on its conscience. Almost no im- tant figure in the West has admitted its igation to repair the damage it wrought this imperialistic period. No statesman l found it in his heart to dwell on the ndreds of millions of people who starved l died a premature death because of stern policy. None has put forth a nty-year or fifty-year plan for righting s wrong.

The underdeveloped nations need eco- mic aid running into tens of billions; in- d the West is in- ting through priv- sources only scores millions—and most this in extractive lustries such as oil l copper which do help industrial velopment very ch. Private capital runs to the underde- oped countries only to earn a quick, ge profit. The regimes are too un- ble, the holdings too tenuous for in- strial, long-term investment. Only the ernments of the West can give ade- ate economic aid to the East; and only governments of the East can accumu- enough capital—from internal and ernal sources—to make any real pro- ss. A country like India, with a national ome of $25 billion a year (one- hteenth of ours), cannot afford the lux- of unrestrained competition. It cannot mit a dozen steel corporations to com- e against each other when it can hardly ord a single large steel corporation. nether you call this "socialism," "col- tivism" or what have you, it is an un- ailable fact.

Sugar-coated Imperialism

When our State Department talks of vate enterprise for Asia, Africa and tin America it is actually talking of h century stagnation, 19th century ex- ploitation. When it talks of freedom of foreign investments it is talking nonsense. Poor nations cannot afford to let Standard Oil or U. S. Steel withdraw millions of dollars of profits from their economies. They need the money to build more steel mills, irrigation projects and shoe factories. Our State Department formulas are therefore correctly considered as camouflage for the "same old thing," for sugar-coated instead of mail-fisted imperialism. That is why so many poor nations, now winning their independence, either move to anti-Americanism or neutralism. They cannot see in American policy any hope for getting out of their economic morass. On the contrary, they know if they yield to Mr. Dulles' militaristic formulas they will only get into it deeper.

That explains also why China is so hostile to the United States. Admittedly it isn't a one-way street. Chinese militarism in Korea was no better than American militarism; and Chinese totalitarianism on the mainland is hardly better than Chiang Kai-shek's totalitarianism in Formosa, perhaps worse. But if American policy promised to help China industrialize, if there were but an iota of possibility that U. S. aid were forthcoming, there would be tens of thousands of Chinese communists pushing for a rapprochement with the U. S.—just as there are in Yugoslavia today after a decade of American economic aid. If the U. S. were to soften its attitude to China, it would create a crisis for the Chinese (and very likely the Russian) "hards." It would favor those who seek true democracy behind the bamboo curtain.

If China's "big leap forward" eventually costs millions of lives and eventually imposes Chinese Stalinism on the Orient, we in America must bear our share of responsibility for it. For it is our "hardness" which supplements theirs, our lack of "softness" which fails to encourage theirs. Whatever, then, the sins of Chinese Maoism, the blame is not entirely one-sided. It must be assessed to both sides of the bamboo and iron curtains.

Pincers on BERLIN

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

On November 3, 1958 Nikita S. Khrushchev announced in a policy statement that the time had come "to give up the remnants of the occupation regime in Berlin . . ."

He indicated that the Soviet Union would hand over the functions which it still retained in East Berlin and called upon Great Britain, France and the United States to "establish their own relations with the German Democratic Republic and come to an agreement with it if they are interested in certain questions connected with Berlin."

He indicated also that the West had made of Berlin a "state within a state" and was "using it as a base for subversive activity against East Germany and Russia." He went on to say that the Western powers enjoy the right of "unhampered communication" between West Germany and West Berlin over a territory whose government they do not even recognize.

Finally he made it clear that if anyone attacks East Germany, the USSR "will consider it as an attack on the Soviet Union. on all the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. . . . this will mean the defense of the basic interests of the security of the Soviet Union. . . ."

The end of May has been set by the Russians as the time when some action must be taken with respect to Berlin, such as handing over their share in the administration of the city to the East Germans.

The West thus far has asserted in a note to Khrushchev that they were willing to discuss Berlin but not under menace or ultimatum. They have further indicat that they will not be forced out of Berl There has even been some talk in Wa ington of armed resistance to East Germ controls or blockades of Western road cess to Berlin.

It seems highly unlikely that the Uni States would use armed convoys by ro chiefly because the West will prefer have the Communists use armed fo first so that they will be aggressors bef world public opinion. This and world p lic opinion are likely to be the real de rents rather than the Khrushchev threat use atomic weapons.

There may be a greater danger if E ern planes fire upon or otherwise interf with a new Berlin airlift. And there is ways a possibility that a new airlift m last longer than ten months, the durati of the 1948-1949 airlift.

At this writing the West insists upon: no withdrawal from West Berlin exc after Germany is unified by free electio 2) no withdrawal of U.S. troops from E ope itself, 3) a peace treaty, to be conclud with a united Germany which will be f to ally herself with whomever she choos

The West German Government has b reported as moving toward a modificati of 3 above in the direction of offering nonaggression pact between a new all G man government and the Soviet Union a Secretary Dulles has intimated that United States might, under some circu stances, forego free elections.

The Soviet Union is demanding: 1) W ern withdrawal from Berlin with hints t

rlin might be made a demilitarized free under UN or other international guarantee. This, of course, would eliminate rlin as a center for western intelligence d probably as an escape point to the st for Eastern refugees. 2) Unification of st and West Germany through a confedtion calculated to preserve Communist ntrol in East Germany, and 3) recogni-n, in any peace treaty, of the present estern frontier of Poland (the Oder-isse River boundaries). West Germany is willing to consent to this because it indes former German territory.

Other Major Factors

There are some other important considtions in the picture:

1. The United States will soon be supring nuclear weapons to West Germany. his the Soviet Union wants to prevent t only because of traditional emotional rs of German militarism but because of ilism. If East Germans were to revolt, uld West Germans refrain from aiding em in the event of a Hungarian-type ssian action? Also, what will happen five, n or more years hence with a powerful est Germany armed with nuclear weapons near to Communist territory?

2. The longer the situation of Berlin d of Germany remains unsettled, the nger will Germany be a crisis center and der box in central Europe which could ecipitate serious war.

3. The people of West Berlin do not nt to be under Communist control. Many them have taken positions against Comnism which would invite reprisal if the est were simply to leave. Their fears and eir desires cannot be ignored by Western wing to Russian demands without creng a new and greater "Munich" with its rrible consequences.

4. The Soviet Union and other nearby stern countries not only have a basic ar of an armed Germany but they are rmed at the power of attraction West rmany has for many East Germans. So ng as trained engineers, doctors and ners continue to leave East Germany via est Berlin, the Communists feel there is sword pointed at the economy and stality of East Germany.

5. Khrushchev's precipitation of this issue in November 1958 and the Mikoyan visit to the United States in January underline the importance the Soviet policy makers attach to an immediate settlement of this long and dangerous crisis. There now seems to be no alternative for Europe, as well as for the USSR and the U.S., but to take advantage of the Soviet position by attempting to negotiate an over-all solution that will result in removing the major sources of friction that now exist.

Thus far, the chief proposals for such a solution have come from three sources: George F. Kennan, former chief of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Division; Adam Rapacki, Polish Foreign Minister (with an apparent Russian blessing); and certain Social Democratic Party leaders in Germany who have proposed plans which differ in details but which have one major aspect in common, that they propose disengagement. In the United States James P. Warburg and in England Hugh Gaitskell, the Labor Party leader, have been spokesmen for this position.

The second Rapacki plan, obviously not a Western proposal, would freeze nuclear armaments and armed forces in the two Germanies, Poland and Czechoslovakia at their present levels. Discussion should then begin on reduction of conventional forces as well as withdrawal of foreign troops. Upon agreement on such reduction and withdrawal, all nuclear weapons would be simultaneously eliminated from the zone and the agreed reduction would take place. The Poles envision "proper provisions for control."

For the Poles, a withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany would mean its release from encirclement by Russian forces, and this might give impetus to the "liberal" elements there. At the same time, however, Poland would thus be thrust shoulder-to-shoulder with a neutralized East Germany whose future political character would be open to change. Poland would therefore likely be in an uneasy spot until the German situation had become stabilized.

The German Social Democrats propose the inclusion of Hungary in such a zone and step-by-step withdrawal. George .Ken-

nan has suggested an even larger zone of withdrawal by U.S. and Soviet forces as a basis for negotiation.

The Care for Disengagement

It seems clear that the withdrawal of military forces from a wide area in Europe is a prerequisite to the elimination of tension. The following considerations come to mind in this connection:

1. There is a precedent: the withdrawal of troops from Austria and the successful neutralization of that country.

2. The only way to get Soviet troops out of Eastern Europe is for the West to propose comparable withdrawals and concessions.

3. Free elections in Germany would be possible only with the elimination of direct Soviet military control. This will not necessarily mean the end of communism in East Germany, but it will give non-conformist Communists a chance to emerge and to work out with West Germans a new approach to unification.

On the other hand, the West German economy is so much superior to that of East Germany and the split between the two in political, economic and cultural life has gone on so long that unification at best will be difficult even if the obstacles posed by the USSR and the U.S. are withdrawn.

4. A non-conformist Communist Poland without Russian troops on its soil may foreshadow the development of a similar position in some other Communist countries.

5. NATO is likely to be so weakened by the loss of German forces and by the impetus given to neutralization, that it may dissolve. On the other hand, it might strengthen the determination of France and other Western governments to continue some type of alliance. There would be comparable results to the Warsaw Treaty O ganization, although these would not be significant since the basic Communist al ance is that of China and the Soviet Unio

6. A united Germany ought not a probably could not ally itself with eith side and should have a guarantee by t major powers as well as by the UN that territory and sovereignty will not be vi lated. Germany could, and almost certain would, thus be a part of the Western c tural community which, as in the case Sweden, is not necessarily identical wi the Western military structure.

7. The Russians would gain: the elimi ation of Western intelligence forces fr West Berlin, the ending of the threat German nuclear arms, the withdrawal U.S. and NATO troops from Germa and the easing of tension and the possib ity of trade.

8. Western gains have already been me tioned but, in addition, Germany wou be more free to pursue a policy of buildi economic strength and minimizing arm power which in the long run would a the economic strength of the non-Commu ist world.

9. The world would benefit from easing of tension and the step this off toward reduction in global arms.

No plan in itself is a panacea. No o can state with certainty what the fut holds. But at this writing, it seems imp tant to urge the beginning of serious ne tiations for as large a settlement as p sible. Thus, as Neal Stanford in the Ja ary 1 *Foreign Policy Bulletin* sugge "There is a chance that Moscow's drama move to strangle West Berlin can be dynamite breaking up the German jam." He adds, "it all depends on West's reaction . . . and on Moscow's re tion to the reaction of the West."

BROKEN EGGHEAD
(Lines for the End of a Schizophrenic Age)

Torn between love for his fellow man
And snuffing him out as fast as he can
Man was an omelet well cooked and buttered—
"My mixed-up kid," as the last hen muttered.

—JOHN F. DAVIDSON

Pan-Africanism Enters a New Era

BY GEORGE M. HOUSER

; Accra, the capital of Ghana, in early December 1958, an event of major im-rtance occurred. The first Pan-African nference ever to be held on the African ntinent convened. It was called the All-rican Peoples Conference. The last such nference was held in Manchester, Eng-nd, in 1945 under the leadership of vame Nkrumah, now Ghana's Prime nister; George Padmore, now Nkrumah's visor on African Affairs; and Jomo Ken-tta, now in prison in Kenya for a sup-sedly crucial role in the Mau Mau move-nt. But as recently as 1956 there was t a place in Africa south of the Sahara, th the exception of Liberia, where such conference could have been held.

Ghana's independence changed this pic-re and in 1958 the first conference of rican independent states was held in cra in April, and then the non-govern-ental All-African Peoples Conference in cember. Delegates came from Tunisia, geria and Egypt in North Africa; from nya, Uganda and Tanganyika in East rica; from Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and uth Africa in Central and South Africa; m the Congo and Angola; from Togo-nd, Ghana, Nigeria, and French West rica; and from the old independent untries of Ethiopia and Liberia. This was amazing gathering of diverse African tionalists from twenty-eight countries, presenting sixty-five organizations. The ee hundred delegates met under the inted banner in Accra's Community Cen-reading: "Hands Off Africa. Africa ust Be Free."

The conference was significant because reflected the meaning of an era—the of Africa's emergence as an independ-t force in world affairs, and no longer as an extension of Europe. In the conference one saw not only an expression of the dynamic current trends in Africa, but also something of the shape of things to come.

Nonviolence and the Will to Freedom

First, what about the present? The basic fact which brought the delegates to Accra was their unity in their struggle for freedom. Nkrumah's famous slogan, "We prefer independence with danger to servitude in tranquility," caught the spirit of the occasion. Again, Tom Mboya of Kenya, the conference chairman, pinpointed the meaning of the gathering when he put in juxtaposition to one another the "scramble for Africa" of the European powers in the 19th century and the demand of the African people today that Europe "scram from Africa." It is obvious that the movements for independence cannot be stopped. Even in the Belgian Congo events are now moving rapidly. Four new countries will be independent in 1960. This "will to freedom" was dominant at Accra.

Perhaps the most obvious and in some ways most significant controversy at the conference revolved around the question of methods to be used in gaining freedom. Are the methods to be violent or nonviolent? The call to the conference worked out by George Padmore with the strong backing of Dr. Nkrumah put emphasis on nonviolence. The provisional agenda sent out in advance of the conference said: "The main purpose of the conference will be to formulate concrete plans and to work out the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African Non-Violent Revolution. . . ." At an early stage in the conference when Kojo Botsio, the leader of the Ghana dele-

gation and Minister of External Affairs, was speaking, he said: "With the united will of the people behind you, the power of the imperialists can be destroyed without violence."

This was a significant statement because the idea of nonviolence was attacked in public statements very soon after the sessions began. The head of the Egyptian delegation led the way. The emotional reason for the attack on nonviolence was the war in Algeria. There was no voice at the conference dissenting from the conviction that Algeria must be free. Thus there was a compelling issue which detracted from the centrality of nonviolence. In a deeper sense, the differences on the issue of nonviolence reflected the competition between Cairo and Accra for leadership of nationalist forces in Africa. This issue was seized by the Egyptians presumably to put Nkrumah in the embarrassing position of seeming to oppose the liberation struggle in Algeria, an attempt which failed.

The result of this controversy was that a compromise formula was adopted by which nonviolence was commended, but those movements that were forced to use violence in retaliation against the European powers also were supported. In summary, practically no one, outside of two delegates from South Africa, supported nonviolence on principle. But most of the conference delegates were anxious to keep their struggle for freedom nonviolent.

No Reverse Racism

Second, what did the conference point out about the future? Great emphasis was placed on the necessity for a regional federation of independent countries. The first steps taken by Ghana and Guinea to form a Union were applauded. The future possibility of a Balkanized Africa composed of small, separate states reflecting the conquests of the European powers was recognized and condemned. One hopes that the leaders of the independent countries will discover formulas which will allow for a maximum of cooperation and unity. The spirit of the conference points this way.

Another hopeful sign for the future was the general lack of anti-white racialist expression at the conference. In spite of the fact that many important leaders ca from East and Central Africa where wh settlers maintain control, bitterness did n epitomize conference statements. Rath there was a determined spirit, but one th reflected confidence that victory would won. The general message of the conf ence was that Europeans were welcomed Africa as long as they accepted "undilut democracy" and practiced the democra tenet: "One man, one vote." Tom Mbo said: "We will not practice racism in verse." This spirit of the conference augu well for the future.

"Positive Neutrality"

What will the international outlook an independent Africa be? What about role in the cold war? The conference on inferentially addressed itself to the pro lem of a position in the internation power struggle. Essentially the conferen was establishing itself as another concre expression of the "African personality The foreign policy outlook of most of t delegates probably could be summarized the words: "Non-alignment and positi neutrality." The Western powers came for much more concrete criticism than d the Soviet, of course, because the Africa peoples have been affected by Weste colonial policy rather than by Communi policy. There was condemnation NATO's role in supplying weapons France for carrying on the war in Alger Critical reference was made to milita bases of Western powers on African so There was strong opposition to the pla for testing nuclear weapons in the Saha But there was no attempt in any spee or in a conference resolution to make analysis of the international situation a to delineate an "African" position as suc Africa probably will strengthen the ne

(Continued on Page 34)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION ——►

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